2: Mbgoire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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duration of which is in inverse ratio to its toothsomeness and the severity of the cook's hunger.

The *Mami* are good to the *M'biwe* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *M'biwe* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the *Mami* as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *M'biwe* helped the *Mami* on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great cinkungwi epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the *Mami* to venison. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *M'biwe* at the request of the *Mami*. Lukito told me of one drive in which he and about thirty *M'biwe* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

When a *M'biwe* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *M'biwe* only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as *Mami*. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling- or sleeping-places.

A few *M'biwe* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *M'biwe* will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious subsistence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a mealie patch for the same length of time.

In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the *M'biwe*. Elephant is reported as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *M'biwe* has at his command an extensive

[illegible] *Bwenshi* (*anglaothia mandibularum*) : honey-harvest.
Bhwai : honey-harvest.
Obwanjwai or *Tiwashi* (*olive, olea chrysophylla*) : fire-wood.
Enyanshi : fire-wood.
Curwai (*Sansevieria sp.*) : fire-sticks.
Tiwi (*pollen, juniperus procera*) : fire-sticks.

[illegible] (B) Plant materials. The following trees and plants provide materials for food, salt, medicines, and utensils*:

[illegible] *Gwishi* (*dry grass*) : thatch for making fire with fire-sticks.
† *Tujwanshi* : fibre for baskets.
Gwishi (*phoenix reclinata palm*) : fibre for baskets.
† *Tiwai* : medicine.
† *Ojwalo* : medicine.
Bwenshi : medicine.
Lojwanwai : medicine.
Gbalwai : medicine.
Gwishi : medicine.
Tiwai (*pollen sp.*) : medicine.
Tujwanjwai (*pollen integrifolia*) : salt.
Gwanjwai : salt.
Bwinwai or *Bwina* (*kigelia aethiopica*) : making honey-wine.

[illegible] (C) Grass and animal products. These include :

[illegible] † *Bwalwa* : food, clothing.
† *Iwandaga* : food, clothing, bags, spinners.
Pig-gut : bow-strings.
Cow-hides : grinders.
† *Bwanu* : food, wine, ritual purposes.
Bwai's fat : ritual purposes.
Cowrie : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
Bwai-hoof : rattle for brooms.

[illegible] The basket most commonly made by the Dwenbo is the small *kenjwa*, about 4 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a great deal by the Dwenbo themselves, and is also a frequent article of sale or exchange to the Dwenbi (*Dwenbi Senjwanbi Dwenbi, "we make baskets for the Dwenbi"*, as an old woman said). Dwenbo women make baskets when they have nothing preferable to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the sword palm, which is split into thin strips, and bark from a plant called *kajwanwai* which is good for making the split of splitting the sword fibre, preparing a certain length and tying it off as the

* Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Dwenbi in exchange for their products.

[illegible] [See also *kajwanwai* (*Ficus glumosa* = *Ficus asperifolia*).]

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231 Then a man climbs up to the beehive, fastens it to a rope, unhooks it, and very slowly lowers it to the ground, so that through the continuing effect of the smoke the bees will also be driven out of the combs or stupefied in them. It is obvious that through this the honey must become very dirty, and, in fact, it tastes strongly of smoke and contains a large number of dead bees and larvae. No other method of driving the bees out is possible, however, and since they are extremely vicious and the people, only scantily clad, expose such large areas for their stings, the honey gatherers have to be enveloped in a thick cloud of smoke for their own protection. I was able to observe the viciousness of the native bees several times. It is by no means rare that a swarm will attack a caravan and sting some of the porters and donkeys into unconsciousness, the latter even to death. Tobacco smoke in particular incites them to attack, but they also seem to dislike loud singing and shouting.

In extracting the honey, one leaves about a quarter of it in each comb so that the bees will not abandon the hive. The extracted honey is packed into leather bags or wooden pots and thus stored. The capture of wild bees is unknown. Where such are found in a hollow tree, one hangs in the vicinity an empty beehive that has previously been smeared on the inside with the extraordinarily aromatic honey of a Melipona species (subspecies Trigona) (1)

1. Identified by Herr Dr. Enderlein from samples sent to the Museum für Naturkunde /Museum of Natural Science/, Berlin.

232 knows as ol mafu. In order to be able to extract the honey of wild bees from hollow trees, one drives them out by holding aloft a burning branch with which one climbs to the hole.

In the camp one sees the men either squatting about dully or busy with carving, such as the beehives just mentioned, or with making bows, arrows, and clubs. The stick intended for the making of a bow (Fig. 65) [illegible] of hornwood already [illegible] of these sticks, and their completed counterparts. After it has been rubbed